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THE ANCIENT CLASSICS IN THE MEDIAEVAL LIBRARIES

By JAMES STUART BEDDIE

AS THE twelfth century was the age of the second revival of the ancient classics, it would be of interest to know what works of Greek and Roman writers were present in the libraries of the period and which of those available had the greatest popularity and the widest diffusion. For this purpose a retracing of the manuscript tradition of the texts of the classical authors through the mediaeval period would be most desirable, indeed necessary, for a complete picture. Still, considerable information about the range of the mediaeval mind and its interest in the Greek and Roman writers may be gained from an examination of the catalogues of the twelfth-century libraries.¹

Most of the mediaeval catalogues, including more than a hundred from the twelfth century, have now been printed. A list of the known catalogues up to the year 1500 was compiled by Th. Gottlieb in his register, *Ueber Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken* (Leipzig, 1890). Several collections of catalogues have been published, notably that of Becker, in which 136 lists of the twelfth century and earlier are reprinted.² A number of catalogues of French libraries are in L. Delisle's *Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*.³ Collections of the mediaeval catalogues of the German and Austrian libraries are now in course of publication under the auspices of the academies of Vienna, Berlin, Göttingen, Leipzig, and Munich, those of the Aus-

¹ On the thirteenth century, E. K. Rand, 'The Classics in the Thirteenth Century,' *SPECULUM*, IV (1929), 262.

² G. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonn, 1885).

³ Paris, 1868-1881.

trian libraries under the editorship of Theodor Gottlieb and his successors, and those of the German libraries by Paul Lehmann.¹

Even these formal inventories, however, are often unsatisfactory and have important limitations for use as sources for the number and contents of the libraries. Indeed, a number of libraries of the highest importance, such as those of Tours or St Albans, have left no catalogues or their catalogues have been lost. Nor have we a catalogue of the papal library before 1295.

Often these catalogues are mere check-lists or inventories of the library's possessions, entered upon the fly-leaves of manuscripts or on other spaces empty and available. Account was usually taken only of the number of manuscripts, rather than of the works contained therein; and volumes were regularly listed by the name of the first work contained, in cases where several works are found in one manuscript those after the first being allowed to go uncatalogued.² The volumes are often found cited by brief titles, which are sometimes indefinite, as *Liber Virgili* or *Diuersorum auctorum liber unus*.

Also, many of these lists have come to us with insufficient indications of provenance and can be identified only as within the lifetime of an abbot or bishop, or within fifty or a hundred years by palaeographical means.

Though the catalogues are thus often inadequate and indefinite, and though their testimony regarding the popularity of individual authors may sometimes be misleading unless taken in connection with the history of the manuscript tradition of their works, yet a perusal of the catalogues may be made to yield much of interest regarding the libraries, the authors therein, and their interest to mediaeval men.

The greater part of the content of the monastery and cathedral libraries was composed of ecclesiastical books: volumes of the Bible, scriptural commentaries, works of the Fathers, and books for divine service. In a number of cases the library was entirely theological

¹ *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, vol. I (Vienna, 1915); *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, vols I, II (Munich, 1918, 1928).

² A recent writer suggests that to arrive at the actual number of works in the library one must multiply the number found in the catalogue by about four. D. H. S. Cranage, *The Home of the Monk* (Cambridge, England, 1926), p. 5.

and liturgical, and in the greater part of the libraries the non-ecclesiastical content did not reach one third of the total.

Most twelfth-century libraries contained something of the ancient classics, though their amount and proportion differed widely in the individual libraries. Appearances of Greek books in the western libraries are rare. The monks of the Greek monasteries of South Italy seem to have lived to themselves, and such works of the Greek classical authors as they possessed had no influence beyond the immediate region. Though the library of St Nicholas at Casole was famed throughout the Terra d'Otranto and contained a manuscript of Aristophanes, it was in contact with the East rather than the West, and this knowledge of Greek drama did not spread.¹

Plato was known indirectly, in the main. Of his works only the first part of the *Timaeus* in the translation of Chalcidius was available at the opening of the twelfth century. Notices of this in the library catalogues are fairly numerous. It was present at St Gall, Lorsch, Hamersleben, Bamberg, Rastede, Tegernsee, St Bertin, Bec, Anchin, St Amand, Corbie, Engelberg, Salzburg, Whitby, Durham, Reading, Canterbury, Halberstadt, and elsewhere. Notices of the translation of the *Meno* and *Phaedo* made by Aristippus of Catania about 1156 do not occur before the date of the *Biblionomia* of Richard of Fournival, which describes the *Phaedo*.² The twelfth-century catalogue of Anchin cites *Plato de cosmopio*, possibly a description of the *Timaeus*.

Aristotle had been more popular in the early Middle Ages because, thanks to Boethius, his works chanced to be better preserved. Of

¹ The library of Casole is described by C. Diehl in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, vi (1886), 173, and by K. Lake in *Journal of Theological Studies*, v (1903-1904), 33.

² The *Biblionomia*, Richard of Fournival's model catalogue of a model library, is printed by Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, II, 518-533. Richard was chancellor of the church of Amiens, his life falling within the period 1201-1260. His work purports to be, as explained in allegorical fashion in the introduction, a plan of education for the youth of Amiens, and especially a plan for the formation of a library. He lists 162 books, with remarkably full descriptions, and gives a scheme of classification to aid the librarian in finding them readily. The studies of Delisle (*Cabinet*, III, 387) and of Aleksander Birkenmajer, *Biblioteka Ryszarda de Fournival i jej Późniejsze Losy* (*The Library of Richard de Fournival and its Ultimate Fate*), Cracow, 1922, have identified a number of items in the *Biblionomia* with manuscripts described in the mediaeval catalogues of the Sorbonne library and bequeathed to the Sorbonne by the theologian, Gérard d'Abbeville.

the logical works available at the opening of the twelfth century the *Categories* were spread most widely, references to this treatise being found in the catalogues of Bobbio, Montier-en-Der, St Emmeram's, Hamersleben, Pfäfers, Reichenau, Wessobrunn, St Amand, Anchin, Arras, Reisbach, and, with the rest of the *Organon*, at Canterbury and Rochester. The *De Interpretatione* was listed at St Emmeram's, Pfäfers, Salzburg, Anchin, Arras, and Fleury. The other works of the *Organon*, which made their appearance in the second quarter of the twelfth century, found their way into the library inventories slowly. The *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics* are listed in the catalogue of Engelberg by 1175 (this monastery possessed a very complete collection of logical works), at Glastonbury, and in the *Biblionomia*. In the twelfth-century catalogue of the library of the monastery of St Peter's at Salzburg appears the item: '*Metaphysica et topica Aristotelis*.' ¹ In a list of textbooks probably in use at Paris near the close of the twelfth century mention is made of the logical treatises of the *Organon*, the *Metaphysics*, the *De Generatione et Corruptione*, and the *De Anima*.² In general, however, the notices of the scientific works of Aristotle in the catalogues are slow to appear and are not numerous. It is probable that their spread received a temporary setback when, in 1210, a provincial council forbade the public or private reading of the works of Aristotle at Paris, this prohibition being reenacted and made to include the *Metaphysics* by the statutes of the papal legate in 1215; nor was it lifted before 1231, when Pope Gregory IX forbade their use until they had been purged of error.

Though the works of several of the classical authors were not looked upon by the church with complete approval, this temporary check to the spread of the works of Aristotle is the nearest approach in the Middle Ages to a prohibition of the use of any Greek or Roman author. The logical works of Aristotle and Porphyry, accompanied by the commentaries of Boethius, appeared in numbers in the monastery libraries, but the scientific and metaphysical works, with the commentary of Averroës, did not make their way so easily.

¹ G. Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

² C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (2d ed., Cambridge, 1927), p. 373.

A good many items appearing in the catalogues as the works of Boethius undoubtedly represent works of Aristotle in his translation.

The Greek medical works were known chiefly in the versions of Constantine the African, the monk of Monte Cassino, who translated the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates and the *Tegni* of Galen, and of Bur Gundio of Pisa, who translated ten treatises of Galen.¹ The works of Hippocrates appeared in the library catalogues of S. Angelo, near Capua, St Amand, Durham, the medical library of Bishop Bruno of Hildesheim,² and elsewhere. Writings of Galen are mentioned in the catalogues of Reichenau, St Amand, Durham, Salzburg, Hildesheim, and others. The work of Dioscorides on herbs appears in the catalogues of St Amand, Durham, and Peterborough.

Philo Judaeus is mentioned in the catalogues of St Riquier and Lyre, and in the course of the twelfth century a letter to Abbot Conrad of Tegernsee requested the loan of a manuscript of this work.

Josephus' *History of the Jews* was regarded in the Middle Ages as a sort of auxiliary to the study of the Bible, and manuscripts of it in translation were diffused very widely, the work being recorded more than forty times in the catalogues.

The mention of two books of Lucian in the twelfth-century catalogue of St Bertin is obviously an error in writing Lucan.³ The *Bucolics* of Theocritus are listed in the inventory of Pfäfers made in 1155, but it is probably to the *Eclogues* of Nemesianus that this description refers.⁴

In all these works of Greek authors available to the Middle Ages through translations, there was nothing, it may be observed here, which could give a correct conception of Greek life, which, along with the Greek language, remained largely an unknown field to the twelfth century.

The works of the Latin authors were much more widely spread, and most libraries possessed a larger or smaller selection from the Roman writers. Though the body of material then available was

¹ Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

² K. Sudhoff in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Medizin*, ix (1916), 348.

³ G. Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

⁴ Lehmann, *op. cit.*, I, 486; Manitius, 'Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F., XLVII, Ergänzungsheft (1892), 57.

much the same as that possessed to-day, an inspection of the library catalogues will show that the preferences of the Middle Ages for individual authors differed in many respects both from those of the Romans and from those of the present day.¹

The writings of Plautus (the *Aulularia*) are cited in the catalogues of Passau in the tenth century, Metz in the eleventh, and in that of the cathedral library of Bamberg in the thirteenth, but the reference is probably to the later *Aulularia* with the ascription to Plautus added. The catalogue of Michelsberg lists 'Plauti liber I,' which may refer to the same. The twelfth-century catalogue of Lambach names the *Amphitruo*.

The comedies of Terence were better known, but imperfectly understood. Mediaeval information about the ancient drama was drawn from the works of Isidore of Seville and Donatus. The ineptitudes and uncertainties of the commentaries of Eugraphius and his successors show that a true conception of Roman comedy had been lost.² Terence's metre was especially puzzling, and his work was often treated as prose. Alberic of Monte Cassino cites Terence as an authority on style. Nearly twenty citations of Terence occur in the French catalogues before 1250, including three copies at Cluny. Few of these name individual plays, but Richard of Fournival has complete information, stating that the comedies number six, of which he supplies the names. A still larger number of manuscripts is noted in the catalogues of German libraries. That the plays were read is shown by the fact that the manuscript of Terence at Freising in the eleventh century was noted as being out on loan, as was that

¹ Statistics relating to the diffusion of the works of the individual Roman authors in the mediaeval libraries have been assembled by M. Manitius in 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Römischen Prosaiker im Mittelalter,' and 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Römischen Dichter im Mittelalter,' in *Philologus*, vols XLVII-LVI (1888-1897), and Supplement VII (1899), also in 'Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen,' *Rheinisches Museum*, XLVII (1892), *Ergänzungsheft*, 1-152.

Citations of classical authors in English library catalogues are listed by E. A. Savage, *Old English Libraries* (London, 1911), p. 258.

² E. K. Rand, 'Early Mediaeval Commentaries on Terence,' *Classical Philology*, IV (1909), 359; Wilhelm Cloëtta, *Komödie und Tragödie im Mittelalter* (Halle, 1890), p. 14; M. Schanz-C. Hosius, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur* (4th ed., Munich, 1927), p. 121; J. D. Craig, *Jovialis and the Calliopian Text of Terence* (*St Andrews University Publications*, vol. XXII, St Andrews, 1927).

at Cologne, and to an abbeſs. In England, Terence appeared in the catalogues of Peterborough, Durham, Rocheſter, and Canterbury, and in Italy at Bobbio, Monte Caſſino, and Treviſo.

The works of Cicero, eſpecially the rhetorical and philoſophical works, were found in numbers of the catalogues, along with certain other works, ſuch as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which went under the name of Cicero and was cited in the catalogues of ten collections in France and five in Germany, and of which Cluny poſſeſſed three manuſcripts. It ſeems likely that all of his works were not collected or even known at any one time or place. It was the ambition of Abbot Wibald of Corvey to collect the works of Cicero in one volume, and he did ſucceed in aſſembling the largeſt group of Cicero's writings of the twelfth century. John of Salisbury bequeathed his manuſcripts of the *De Officiis* and *De Oratore* to Chartres. Mention is made of the writings of Cicero in more than thirty catalogues of libraries from France and in a like number of German catalogues. The ſelections repreſented ranged from the nineteen manuſcripts of Cluny, the ſixteen liſted in the *Biblionomia* of Richard of Fournival, and nine of the library of Bec, to the ſingle item of the catalogue of Benediktbeuern, liſting the *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia*. Theſe laſt two, as ſchool books, were cited very often. Certain of the orations occur more frequently than others, among them the *Pro Rege Deiotaro*. Manuſcripts of the letters were comparatively rare, though three are liſted in the twelfth-century catalogue of Cluny and they were alſo to be found at Lorch. The *Topica* and the *De Officiis* occur frequently, while other works, ſuch as the *De Legibus* (liſted at Bec and Durham), are mentioned only rarely. Several of the catalogue deſcriptions do not permit identification of the particular work deſcribed, while certain others ſeem to ſhow an imperfect knowledge of the author. Thus the cataloguer of St Gildas writes '*Librum Tulli Ceſaris de oratore.*' Outside France and Germany citations of Cicero in the library catalogues are leſs frequent. Of the Italian catalogues thoſe of Bobbio and Monte Caſſino liſt manuſcripts of Cicero. In England works of Cicero were liſted in the catalogues of Durham, Whitby, Rocheſter, and Eveſham. The catalogue of Canterbury (*ca.* 1170), containing references to the

De Amicitia, *De Senectute*, *Rhetorica*, and *Topica*, and that of Glastonbury (1247), in which the *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia* occur, may be added to Manitius' list of English citations. Apparently no twelfth-century Spanish catalogues mention works of Cicero.

The Verona manuscript of Catullus does not appear between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries.

Caesar is mentioned infrequently in the catalogues of mediaeval libraries. Of the fifteen or so naming his works, twelve are catalogues of French libraries. Manuscripts were also listed at Würzburg and Ripoll. No English catalogue includes Caesar before 1443.

Lucretius evidently had little appeal for the mediaeval mind, as surviving manuscripts are few and his work is cited only in the catalogues of Murbach, Bobbio, and Corbie.

Catalogue mention of the histories of Sallust was frequent, his name being found in the catalogues of almost twenty French libraries, and in more than that number in Germany, in England at Canterbury, Durham, Rochester, and Glastonbury, and in Spain at Silos.

These were what the twelfth century had from republican Rome, and their relatively small proportion in the catalogues is but another piece of evidence that to the Middle Ages Rome meant the Rome of the Empire.

The popularity of Virgil was universal. As a school author his work appears in every list of such books. The *Eclogues* and *Georgics* are named in the catalogues almost as often as the *Aeneid*, but the larger number of the citations of Virgil without naming the particular work probably refer to the latter. Thirty or more citations of the commentary of Servius attest the diligence with which Virgil's works were studied. In the catalogues of the English libraries mention of Virgil is made in those of Bury, Durham, Lincoln, Canterbury; the *Aeneid* is named in those of Rochester and Glastonbury; the *Bucolics* in that of Whitby; and the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* in those of Durham, Reading, Rochester, and Glastonbury.

Mention of Propertius and Tibullus occurs only in the *Biblionomia* of Richard of Fournival, besides a notice of the latter in an unidentified French catalogue of the ninth century.

Horace is mentioned more than twenty times in French library

catalogues previous to 1250, and even more frequently in those of Germany. Cluny possessed two manuscripts of the complete works. The *Biblionomia* gives the names of the individual works. In Spain the works of Horace appear in the catalogue of Silos, and in Italy at Monte Cassino and Treviso. English catalogues which cite Horace are those of Bury, Canterbury, Durham, Rochester, Reading, and Glastonbury. Although the individual works are not often cited since the complete works could conveniently be contained in one volume, the *Satires* and *Epistles* appear slightly more frequently than the *Odes*.

Ovid, morally interpreted or otherwise, was even more popular. Nearly twenty French catalogues and almost thirty from Germany cite his works. In England they appear at Durham, Canterbury, Rochester, and Glastonbury, in Spain at Oviedo, and in Italy at Bobbio and Monte Cassino. These citations include a number of the pseudo-Ovidian works, such as the *De Sompno*.¹ Durham possessed no less than ten manuscripts of Ovid, Blaubeuern five, and Cluny three. The *Metamorphoses* was the most popular work, as its description as '*Ovidius magnus*' or '*Ovidius maior*' indicates.

Several of the poets of the Empire were held in greater esteem during the twelfth century than at the present day. Persius and Lucan served as school authors, the former being in addition regarded as a moralist and the latter as an historian. Persius appears in fifteen or more catalogues of French libraries and in more than twenty from Germany, at Canterbury, Whitby, Durham, Rochester, and Glastonbury in England, and at Bobbio in Italy. The works of Lucan appear in practically the same numbers. Four manuscripts are found at Corbie and at Bobbio, and two are listed at Cluny and in several other libraries.

The name of Petronius appears but once, and that in the catalogue of an unidentified French library of the eleventh century. The frequency with which Martial was quoted would lead one to expect that manuscripts of his works would be more often listed than is actually the case, for they appear only about a dozen times,

¹ P. Lehmann, *Pseudo-antike Literatur des Mittelalters* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, vol. XXIII, Leipzig, 1927), pp. 89-91.

in France at Corbie and in the *Biblionomia*, in Germany at Lorsch, Bamberg, Muri, and Würzburg, in England at Peterborough, and in Italy at Bobbio.

Citations of Juvenal come most often from France, where he is named in twenty or more catalogues. About fifteen mentions of Juvenal occur in the German catalogues, seven in England, including Canterbury, Bury, and Glastonbury, while he is also listed at Bobbio, Oviedo, and Ripoll. Bobbio, St Bertin, and Rouen possessed three copies of Juvenal in their libraries.

Statius was widely read, quoted, and copied, that is, the *Achilleis* and the *Thebais*; the *Silvae* do not appear in the catalogues of the early Middle Ages. Twenty catalogues of the German libraries cite Statius, more than fifteen in France, five in England, and one (Silos) in Spain.

References to the Roman historians in the library catalogues illustrate the mediaeval preference for epitomes and condensations. Livy occurs in the catalogues of Limoges; in Corbie, which lists two copies of the third decade; in Cluny, which had two copies of the third decade and one of the first; in the collections of Murbach; in the cathedral library of Bamberg; and at Pomposa. Curtius Rufus' name does not appear except in the catalogue of the library at Canterbury made after 1285, but notices of histories of Alexander the Great are numerous, whether reference is to his work or to those works associated with the names of Julius Valerius and the Archpresbyter Leo. Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus is cited in half a dozen catalogues from Germany and in a like number from France, that of St Martial's at Limoges listing two copies, and it is also named in the catalogues of Durham and Pomposa. Valerius Maximus is listed six times in France, but elsewhere only at Michelsberg. The epitome of Florus is catalogued at Chartres, Bec, Corbie, and Limoges, but in Germany only in the ninth-century inventory of Lorsch. No certain references to Tacitus are known, there being only the mention of a *Historiam Cornelii cum Homero* from Monte Cassino in the eleventh century. The Corbie catalogue of the end of the twelfth century has a *Liber Cornelii de bello Troiano*. Otto of Freising cites 'Cornelius' in his list of writers on Greek history.

The works of Suetonius were known in France from the time of Lupus Servatus or before.¹ They are found listed in five catalogues from France, Bec possessing two manuscripts, at Bamberg and another (unidentified) library of Germany, and at Bury, Rochester, and Glastonbury in England. Though John of Salisbury made use of Suetonius in the *Policraticus*, he could on one occasion make two persons of Suetonius and Tranquillus.² The collection of biographies known as the *Augustan History* was listed in the catalogues of Murbach and the cathedral library of Bamberg, while Cluny possessed a volume containing the lives of the Caesars from Augustus to Theodosius. The history of Eutropius was cited in the catalogues of Pomposa, Durham, St Emmeram's, Bamberg, and in France at Cluny, St Amand, Chartres, and Bec, which possessed two copies. Thus it will be seen that the work of no one of the classical historians was found among the more popular books of the twelfth century and none of them approached being generally known in the sense that the classical poets were known. The catalogue citations of the *Seven Books against the Pagans* (*Historia aduersus Paganos*) of Orosius, the first great Christian historian in the West, surpass those of any of the pagan writers on the subject.

The total of the citations of the works of Seneca the Younger is probably increased somewhat by inclusion of writings of the elder Seneca, and pseudo-Senecan writings, of which there was a number. He is mentioned in the catalogues of fifteen or more French libraries, in a somewhat smaller number from Germany, at Monte Cassino, Pomposa, and Città di Castello in Italy, and at Durham, Peterborough, Bury, Reading, and Glastonbury in England. Bec had seven Seneca manuscripts and the *Biblionomia* has a full list of his writings. The work most commonly cited was the *Moral Epistles*, often listed as 'Seneca maior.' The *Apocolocyntosis* appears in the catalogue of St Amand and in the *Biblionomia*. The apocryphal correspondence of Seneca and Paul is also listed frequently.

¹ E. K. Rand, 'On the History of the *De Vita Caesarum* of Suetonius in the Early Middle Ages,' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xxxvii (1926), 20.

² *Policraticus*, viii, 18, and the note of C. C. J. Webb in his edition of the *Policraticus* (Oxford, 1909), ii, 364.

Quintilian, because of the advanced character of his work and its attention to oratory, was not the rhetorical text of the twelfth century, though he seems to have been well known to John of Salisbury. Five French catalogues cite the work, in addition to those of Durham, Bamberg, and Salzburg.

Citations of the *Letters* of Pliny the Younger are quite rare, and occur in the catalogues of Lorsch, an unidentified German library catalogue of the eleventh century, and in those of Angers and Bec in the twelfth century. Some confusion may have occurred with Pliny the Elder, and some of the items mentioning Pliny without further description may refer to manuscripts of the *Letters*.

The author of the *Attic Nights* was regularly described in the catalogues as 'Agellius,' and appears thus in the inventories of Cluny, Egmond, and Bamberg, in the *Biblionomia*, and in the correspondence of Reinald of Hildesheim with Wibald of Corvey regarding a loan of the volume.

Apuleius was known to the twelfth century as the author of the *Periermeniae*, cited in nine catalogues from France, four from Germany, and at Bobbio in Italy, where the catalogue lists two manuscripts of Apuleius. The catalogue of Bec lists the *De Deo Socratis* and the *De Fato*.

The works of the Roman writers on the sciences and useful arts continued to be copied and read during the Middle Ages. The preference here too, however, was for epitomes and compends. The work of Hyginus on astronomy appears in five French library catalogues, in nine from Germany, of which all but two are from the eleventh century or before, also in the catalogues of Durham, Rochester, and Treviso. Vitruvius on architecture occurs five times in catalogues from Germany, and in four French lists. Citations of Columella are confined to France, the work being listed in the catalogue of Corbie and in the *Biblionomia*. The same is true in the case of Pomponius Mela, cited only at Bec and Limoges. For so extensive a work the *Natural History* of Pliny is noted surprisingly often, being mentioned in eight catalogues of French libraries, in the same number or more from Germany, and in those of Bobbio and Pomposa in Italy. In several cases, however, it is stated that the library possessed less

than the complete work. Solinus, who used Pliny's work, is mentioned with even greater frequency. The work of Serenus on medicine appears in the catalogues of St Riquier, Cluny, Rochester, Reichenau, Murbach, Weihestephan, and Göttweig. Palladius' work on agriculture was extremely popular in France and the Netherlands, thirteen catalogues from this region listing the book. It also appears in the catalogue of Durham. Vegetius' *De Re Militari* is listed in nine French library catalogues and in six from Germany. The *Mulomedicina* was listed at Reichenau.

The old Roman textbooks on grammar continued to be used throughout the Middle Ages, and catalogue citations of the works of Victorinus, Donatus, Martianus Capella, Priscian, and Phocas are numberless. Besides their use as texts they were of value in preserving extracts and quotations from the works of the classical authors. The *Distichs of Cato*, another school text, was widely diffused. Eleven citations of it occur in catalogues of French libraries, more than twice that number from Germany, while it is also found in the libraries of Oviedo, Bobbio, Durham, Rochester, and Glastonbury. The *Fables* of Avianus appear in similar proportions. The Latin *Iliad* or 'Homer' is named in the catalogues of half-a-dozen libraries in France, and more than that number in Germany, also at Monte Cassino, Durham, and Whitby. Dares' *History of the Trojan War* was almost as widely circulated. The *History of Apollonius of Tyre* is mentioned in the inventories of Rochester, Canterbury, St Wandrille, Lobbes, Gorze, Cluny, St Amand, Pontigny, Toul, Stavelot, Reichenau, Weihestephan, Wessobrunn, and Salzburg.

Certain of the authors of the last days of the Empire attained popularity in the mediaeval libraries. The *Letters* of Symmachus were listed in the catalogues of St Bertin, Angers, Bamberg, Arnstein, and Hamersleben. The compendious works of Macrobius were extremely popular. His name occurs more than twenty times in the catalogues of French libraries and in almost as many from Germany, as well as in those of Durham, Rochester, Bobbio, and Ripoll. The commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* is cited somewhat oftener than the *Saturnalia*.

Though the twelfth century marked the height of mediaeval

interest in the classics, they were by no means displaced in the following age. We come upon catalogues of libraries of the thirteenth century, such as that of Pontigny, which had an extensive selection from the works of the Roman writers, including Caesar, Seneca, Quintilian, Palladius, Valerius, Maximus, Solinus, and Suetonius.¹ Conclusions as to the prevalence and popularity of the classics in the libraries of the thirteenth century must, however, be guarded, since our catalogues of the period after 1250, especially from the monastic houses are much less numerous than from the preceding period.

In the thirteenth century, however, the classics were forced to divide the attention of scholars with newer contenders, with logic and metaphysics, and with the new science, whose followers were indifferent to literary form and which introduced a technical vocabulary of its own.

The catalogues illustrate these new interests and tendencies and others as well. The thirteenth-century catalogue of the Cistercian house of Pontigny not only testifies to a continued interest in the classics, but it shows as well the loss of intensity of feeling in the Cistercian order, for in no Cistercian catalogue of the twelfth century can we find an extensive list of books dealing with non-religious subjects.

The catalogues indicate the library centres where interest in the classics prevailed especially. Thus Cluny, rich in everything, possessed, according to the catalogue of the middle of the twelfth century, a large number of works of the classical writers among its 570 volumes.

The catalogues preserve to us the memory of mediaeval classical students, some famous, some forgotten. Thus the lists of the books in the hands of the monks of Durham² indicate the reading of Guarinus, a student of the classics otherwise unknown to fame, while the record of the bequest of the library of John of Salisbury to Chartres recalls the interests of the greatest classical scholar of the twelfth century.

¹ *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements* (Paris, 1849), I, 697.

² G. Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

APPENDIX

In the following appendix is given a list of the library catalogues of the period 1050–1250, which have appeared in print, but are not listed in Theodor Gottlieb, *Ueber Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, or which have appeared in later editions since the publication of Gottlieb's register (1890). It does not include, however, those printed in the series *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* and *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*.

- 1 Altenburg 1200 Monastery (Benedictine).
F. L. Helmling, *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner Ordens*, XLII (1923–1924), 236.
- 2 Altzelle xiiith cent. Monastery (Cistercian).
Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte, XVIII (1897), 201.
- 3 Aversa 1119 Grant by bishop to monastery of S. Lorenzo.
Regii Neapolitani Archivi Monumenta (Naples, 1857), vol. VI, no. 574.
- 4 Bamberg 1112–1147 Monastery of Michelsberg. Catalogue and lists of acquisitions (Gottlieb, nos. 12–14).
H. Bresslau, 'Bamberger Studien,' *Neues Archiv*, XXI (1896), 143–154.
- 5 Bamberg xiiith cent. Michelsberg (Gottlieb, no. 18. Becker, no. 80).
H. Bresslau, *art. cit.*, p. 165.
- 6 Bamberg xiiith cent. Cathedral. List of books entrusted to Master Richard (Gottlieb, no. 20).
H. Bresslau, *art. cit.*, p. 170, note 11, p. 194.
- 7 Barcelona 1142 Gift of Bishop Arnald to the Cathedral.
R. Beer, *Handschriftensätze Spaniens* (Vienna, 1894), p. 66.
- 8 Bari 1067 Service books of Chiesa del Catapano.
N. Tamassia, *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto*, LXIV, ii (1904–1905), 286.
- 9 Beauvais xiith or xiiith cent. Gift of Roscellinus to Cathedral library (Gottlieb, no. 968).
H. Omont, 'Recherches sur la Bibliothèque de l'Église Cathédrale de Beauvais,' *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, XL (1916), 1.
- 10 Beauvais 1217 Gift of Bishop Philip to monastery library.
Gallia Christiana, vol. IX, col. 739.
- 11 Bruges xiiith cent. Monastery of St André.
Revue Bénédictine, XXXVII (1925), 273.
- 12 Burton after 1175 Monastery library (Gottlieb, no. 442).
Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, IX (1892), 200.
- 13 Bury ca. 1200 Catalogue of monastery of St Edmund (Gottlieb, no. 443).
M. R. James, *On the Abbey of St Edmund at Bury* (Cambridge Antiquarian Society Octavo Publications, no. XXVIII) (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 23–32.
- 14 Bury xiiith cent. Fragmentary list.
G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London, 1921), II, 153.

- 15 Canterbury ca. 1170 Christ Church (Gottlieb, no. 450).
M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), pp. 3-12.
Facsimile.
- 16 Cava 1063 Church of S. Michel.
Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis (Milan and Naples, 1873-1893), VIII, 208.
- 17 Chartres 1150 Bequest of Thierry of Chartres to Cathedral.
Chartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres (Chartres, 1865), III, 206.
- 18 Città di Castello 1143-1144 Gift of Pope Celestine II to the church (Gottlieb, no. 1369).
A. Wilmart, *Revue Bénédictine*, xxxv (1923), 98.
- 19 Clairvaux xiith cent. Catalogue of monastery library (partial).
A. Wilmart, *Mémoires de la Société Académique de l'Aube*, LXXXI (1917), 127.
- 20 Cologne ca. 1100 Church of St George.
Fr. Bock, *Das Heilige Köln* (Leipzig, 1858), pp. 8-10. See Kl. Löffler, 'Kölnische Bibliotheksgeschichte,' *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Buchwesen und Schrifttum*, iv (1921), 37.
- 21 Compostella 1226 Library of Archbishop Bernard.
H. Omont, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LIV (1893), 327.
- 22 Durham 1095 Books of Bishop William de Karilef (Gottlieb, no. 1067).
Republished with facsimile in H. D. Hughes, *History of Durham Cathedral Library* (Durham, 1925).
- 23 Ebersberg after 1160 Monastery library.
Der Katholik, LXXXVIII (1908), 49.
- 24 Flaxley xiith cent. Cistercian monastery (Gottlieb, no. 469).
Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, ix (1892), 205.
- 25 Gorze xiith cent. Monastery library.
Revue Bénédictine, xxii (1905), 1.
- 26 Hildesheim ca. 1160 Medical library of Bishop Bruno.
K. Sudhoff, *Archiv für die Geschichte der Medizin*, ix (1916), 348.
- 27 Lincoln 1150-1182 Catalogue of cathedral library and record of gifts.
Giraldus Cambrensis, ed. J. F. Dimock (Rolls Series, London, 1877), VII, 165-171;
R. M. Woolley, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (London, 1927), p. v.
- 28 Lincoln ca. 1200 List of books and their donors to the cathedral library.
R. M. Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. ix, and again, with some variations, p. 144.
- 29 Lugo 1230 Gift of Archdeacon Pedro to cathedral library (Gottlieb, no. 1346).
R. Beer, *Handschriftenschätze Spaniens* (Vienna, 1894), p. 272.
- 30 Mainz 1186 Monastery of St Jakob.
F. Schillman, 'Wolfgang Treffer und die Bibliothek des Jakobskloster zu Mainz,' *Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XLIII (1913), 24.
- 31 Marchiennes xiith-xiith cent. Monastery of St Rictude.
Analecta Bollandiana, xxiv (1905), 467.
- 32 Marienfeld ca. 1185 Cistercian monastery (Gottlieb, no. 119).
H. Degering, *Beiträge zum Bibliotheks- und Buchwesen Paul Schwenke gewidmet* (Berlin, 1913), p. 53. Facsimile.
- 33 Messina 1114 Bequest of Scholario Saba of the Basilian monastery of S. Salvatore di Bordonaro.
Pirro, *Sicilia Sacra* (Palermo, 1733), II, 1003. See F. Lo Parco, 'Scholario-Saba,' *Atti della R. Accademia di Archeologia di Napoli*, n.s., vol. I, pt. 2 (1910), p. 207, and J. Heiberg, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xxii (1913), 160.

- 34 Messina 1173 Testament of the monk Clement of the Basilian monastery of S. Salvatore dell'Acroterio.
E. Aar, *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 4th Ser., ix (1882), 252.
- 35 Namur 1218 *Le Beffroi*, III (1871), 129.
- 36 Naples 1117 Treasure of church of St. Pietro.
Regii Neapolitani Archivi Monumenta (Naples, 1857), vi, 35.
- 37 Naples 1072 Church of S. Severo.
Reg. Neap. Arch. Monumenta, vol. v, no. 416.
- 38 Novalese xith cent. Monastery library.
C. Cipolla, *Memorie della R. Accademia della Scienze di Torino*, 2d Ser., I (1901), 127.
- 39 Novara 1175 Cathedral inventory.
Revue des Bibliothèques, XXI (1911), 106.
- 40 Novara 1212 Two cathedral inventories.
Historiae Patriae Monumenta, Chartarum, I, 1192; II, 1275.
- 41 Oña xiiith cent. Monastery library.
R. Beer, *Handschriftenschatze Spaniens* (Vienna, 1894), p. 369.
- 42 Paris xith cent. (close). Notre Dame (?) (Gottlieb, no. 422).
Revue Bénédictine, XXIX (1912), 481, where Dom de Bruyne makes the ascription to Paris.
- 43 Paris xiiith cent. The *Biblionomia* of Richard of Fournival.
L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1868–1881), II, 513–535. Aleksander Birkenmajer, *Biblioteka Ryszarda de Fournival i jej Pozniejsze Losy* (*The Library of Richard de Fournival and its Ultimate Fate*) (Cracow, 1922).
- 44 Perrecy xith cent. Two catalogues of a priory of Fleury.
Revue des Bibliothèques, VI (1896), 225.
- 45 Poblet xiiith cent. Carthusian monastery (Gottlieb, no. 743).
R. Beer, *Handschriftenschatze Spaniens* (Vienna, 1894), p. 405.
- 46 Pomposa 1093 (Gottlieb, no. 625, Becker, no. 70.)
G. Mercati, 'Il Catalogo della Bibliotheca di Pomposa,' *Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto*, XVII (1896), 143.
- 47 Reading 1208 Books returned to King John.
Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum (London, 1833), I, 108, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, II (1849), 134.
- 48 Reading xiiith cent. Leominster Church, dependent on Reading Abbey.
English Historical Review, III (1888), 123.
- 49 Ripoll after 1046 (Gottlieb, no. 745.)
R. Beer, *Handschriftenschatze Spaniens* (Vienna, 1894), p. 412, Vienna Academy, *Sitzungsberichte*, phil.-hist. Kl., vol. CLV (1907–1908), no. 3, p. 101; vol. CLVIII (1908), no. 2.
- 50 Rochester ca. 1200
G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London, 1921), I, 308.
- 51 Rolduc 1230 Monastery library.
Annales de la Société Historique de Maestricht, I (1854), 263.
- 52 S. Andreas de Rosans (Hautes Alpes?) xith cent. Books of Robert de Galone.
Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, XX (1903), 370.
- 53 St Andrews 1144–1152 Gift of Bishop Robert to the prior and canons.
Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* (Oxford, 1873), vol. II, pt. I, p. 227.

- 54 S. Benigne xiith cent. Monastery library.
Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques: Départements (Paris, 1889), vol. v, p. iv.
- 55 S. Etienne xith-xiiith cent. Monastery library.
 Notice in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, LV (1894), 69.
- 56 S. Evroult xiith cent. (Gottlieb, no. 396.)
Ordéric Vital et l'Abbaye de Saint-Evroult, Notices et Travaux (Alençon, 1912).
- 57 S. Martin de Stoppana 1156 Monastery inventory.
 P. de Bofarull y Mascaro, ed., *Colección de Documentos Inéditos de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1849), IV, 241.
- 58 S. Nicolò di Trullas 1113 Gift to monastery.
Historiae Patriae Monumenta — Codex Diplomaticus Sardiniae, I (1861), 89.
- 59 Salerno 1057, 1058 Churches of S. Felice and S. Nicola.
Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis (Naples and Milan, 1873-1893), VIII, 26, 66. Extracts from documents by N. Tamassia, *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto*, LXIV, II (1904-1905), 273-286.
- 60 Selo xith cent. (close). Monastery of St Peter.
 Fr. Racki, ed., *Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*. VII. *Documenta Historiae Chroaticae* (Agram, 1877), p. 181.
- 61 Silos xiith cent. (Gottlieb, no. 749.)
 M. Férotin, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Silos* (Paris, 1897), p. 262.
- 62 Spalato xith cent. (close). Monastery of St Benedict.
 Fr. Racki, ed., *Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*. VII. *Documenta Historiae Chroaticae* (Agram, 1877), p. 182.
- 63 Tournel 1230 Gift of lords of Tournel to chaplain (Provençal).
Revue des Sociétés Savantes, 6th Ser., v (1877), 205.
- 64 Troja 1108-1137 Gifts of Bishop William to the cathedral (Gottlieb, no. 1229).
L'Arte, 3d Ser., IX (1906), 138.
- 65 Val St Hugon 1224 Carthusian monastery.
Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, LVI (1895), 662.
- 66 Windberg xiith cent. (2d half). Premonstratensian canons (Gottlieb, no. 219).
Neues Archiv, XXXII (1906-1907), 246.

In addition to the above there have been published several catalogues whose point of origin has not been determined.

Germany xiiith cent.

Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, XX (1903), 370;
Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift, XXXIX (1919), col. 984.

France xith cent. (close).

C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (2d ed., Cambridge, 1927), p. 372.

England xith cent.

G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collection* (London, 1921), I, 133.

xiith cent. (close).

English Historical Review, XXXII (1917), 388.